* 539 /109 cont./

From Diaojpekowſ came another man, who was named Urémi Sakuró, and he was the chief of another army that was also under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro.

From Diaojpekowſ came another man, who was named Yáitoro, who was the chief of an army that also was under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro.

From Diaojpekowſ came another man, who was named Suſ /110/ Amoperſ, and he, too, was the chief of an army that was under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro.

From Diaojpekowſ came another man, who was named Arú Perſ, and he, too, was the chief of an army that was under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro.

From Diaojpekowſ came another man, who was named Bojsóka Perſ, who also was the chief of an army that was under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro.

From Diaojpekowſ came another man, who was named Ajkíto Bitóro, and that one was indeed like the chief of Umu Saaſ, Kemáru Dasirſ, Urémi Sakuró, Yáitoro, Suſ Amoperſ, Arú Perſ, and Bojsóka Perſ. And Ajkíto Bitóro was under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro, and he was very brave.

From Diaojpekowſ came another man, who was named Báya Purá, and he, too, was like Ajkíto Bitóro, because he, too, commanded Umu Saſ, Kemáru Dasirſ, Urémi Sakuró, Yáitoro, Suſ Amoperſ, Arú Perſ, and Bojsóka Perſ; and also commanded Ajkíto Bitóro.

From Diaojpekowſ came another man, who was named Mío Putſ, and he was brave too and fought at night. He, too, was under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro. Ajkíto Bitóro could command Mío Putſ.

In Diaojpekowſ remained a man named Yepá Huáke. And Yepá Huáke gave cashirſ (Péru) (14)

• [273]

14. Chicha made by means of the fermentation of the boiled juice of bitter yuca, to which is also added cooked fiame /Dioscorea/ and pieces of casabe /cassava or cassava bread/.

/115/

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20. Oxkótirya poné (foam of the water where the Pirá-tapuya appeared), in Carurú-cachoeira (Uaupés) (46)

46. Would the Wanana be considered brothers of the Pirá-tapuya, from which would come the matrimonial interdiction that is in effect between these tribes?

• [273]

21. Dyaxtú panámina (grandchildren of Dyaxtú, that is, of the one who drinks pure caxirí /various locally made beverages drunk at feasts/), in S. Tomé (Tiquié), Bela Vista (Uaupés) (47)

47. An individual of this group informed us that he identifies himself with the 7th group above, Bũxpó poné.

w) WINÁ OR DESÃNA.

1) People-Name-Language. -- In their own idiom they say Winá, the name, it seems, of a fish. According to Padre João Marchesi, it means wind storm, thunder, people of the thunder. They are called Detsana or Papuriwára by the Taryana. The suffix wara is from the Nheengatú and expresses origin; the name would seem, then, to indicate that they penetrated into Brazil by way of the Papurí. It is certain that when the Tukano reached the Tiquié, the Desana were already there and on the principal tributaries. In contrast to the Tukano, it was afterwards that they moved to the Papurí, perhaps even before the arrival of the Tukano in Brazil.

In the Tukano language they call themselves Wenâ or Wĩrá; they also received the nicknames of "muhĩ-pũ põra," children of the sun, and "õ mã-kori maxsã," people of the day. Such nicknames might be derived from some legend that we do not know. Or perhaps from the relative location of these two tribes, the Desana being in the eastern region in relation to the Tukano?

/162 cont./

829 them a point which in particular must not be hurt, to wit, the pride of one's own tribe.

21) Gluttony.

261 They are also excessively gluttonous. They are always will-
262 ing to eat. They eat everything that the white eats and whatever
[177] is given to them, and almost always everything that they have at the moment (37).

37. They curiously watch the whites when they eat, and afterwards they devour everything that is left, always, however, sharing among themselves. Some from Iauareté did not like chocolate and spit it out.

[164] Intestinal troubles are frequent. They will eat until they do not feel well and suffer indigestion and bowel pain. They eat immoderately when they have it and then spend the whole day with only chibé (water with /163/ starchy mandioca-flour) (38).

38. Otherwise they are used to fasting. Besides the forced fasts (because they do not have anything to eat or on trips), they observe numerous ritual fasts: in the puberty initiation, during the chôco (couvade), menstruation, etc.

* [172]
[784]

The school children eat the foods that appeal to them until they
• 273 become sick. During the caxirís they do not eat, according to the customs, and thus they can consume a larger quantity of drink. They vomit on the one side, in the manner of the ancient Romans, and on the other they fill a new cup. The truth is that the caxirí
[164] is nourishing, being in reality a well diluted pap. Since at times it is drunk still in the process of fermentation, this continues in the stomach, from which come many cases of stomach hernias, due to excessive drinking. They are very greedy for aguardiente; it is pay for which they will make any sacrifice. They perceive

/163 cont./

• 273 the odor from afar. In order to avoid reprimands, they hide the bottles on the bottom of the river, from where they remove them when they want to drink their alcoholic contents.

261 They are particularly gluttonous over sweets (39);

> 39. The tuxauas, povoado chiefs, themselves appeared satisfied with a piece of candy; and not infrequently even a candy ball is divided up, or it passes through more than one mouth. With some caramels and cigarettes, they considered themselves well paid for the work of letting themselves be measured.

they also appreciate salt very much, and even the bitter salt (sodium sulphate) itself, provided as a medicine. Salt is an article that they are always seeking.

32) /sic/ Ingenuity and cheerfulness.

157 Moreover he possesses an assemblage of natural virtues and enviable qualities. We have already indicated some; let us also point out others. Among the fine qualities of the native one notices his charming ingenuity. Simple, frank, even when he is telling the most disagreeable episodes, and he always does it with terms of the crudest realism. A strangely natural ingenuity in conversation and especially in composure, even when, judging by the previous facts, one is certain that it covers malice.

He is a cheerful individual. He laughs with the greatest of ease, and for any reason whatsoever he bursts out in great, prolonged, and typical hearty laughs. The laugh is not only a response to the ridiculous or to the humorous, but to every pleasant surprise (40).

> 40. An Indian woman, questioned about the reason for so many and such prolonged laughs, explained that it was because they loosen the

/187 cont./

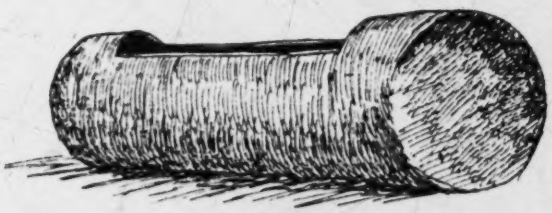
352 With two days of work, a man will prepare his seat.

Due to the instinct of imitation, and also because it is simpler, many Indians have started changing the original design of the seat, using nails to fasten the supports, and these in the number four, like the legs of our stools.

In some native houses we saw four small stakes planted in the ground, and on them a plank fixed to the stakes with nails, or with four holes through which the stakes are fastened.

*192 /188/ 5) Cigar holder. In Tukano it is called utʃkaro yaxpú
276 or also utʃkaro seré, or again mõrõ dõxkõ (?) (in Nheengatú
[796] emapú). In the dabacurís /religious celebrations/ the use of to-
[178] bacco in the form of a large cigar, utʃkaro, about 20 centimeters long is a ritual. Nevertheless, today it is rare to find the primitive cigar holder. It is large, measuring 50 or 60 centimeters, consisting of a three-pronged fork, in the style of the seat, to which the cigar is attached, and a handle, in a point, by which the utʃkaro is held while being smoked and which is stuck in the ground when it is no longer being used.

*192 6) Caxirí tub. In Tukano pêru yuxkõ-sõ properly speaking
• 273 means caxirí canoe (in Nheengatú íwá, hence the term ubá, which
415 means canoe). They are tree trunks of up to 50 centimeters in diameter by about two meters in length, whose interior is also hollowed out with help of fire, and with a longitudinal opening almost the length of the trunk. It has a capacity of several hundred liters, and the natives leave the liquid there, covered with banana leaves, to ferment in the shade for the feasts.



Caxiri tub (pêru juxkõ-sõ)

/215 cont./

252 * [192] 7) Chibé. The chibé, in Tukano po'ká põóke, is prepared with the water flour rich in tapioca. It is enough to take a certain amount of flour in a cuia and add water to it. For example, they take the water directly from the river while they are traveling on it, with a quick movement of the hand, without spilling the flour. They wait for a few seconds, in order for the mandioca fibers that are in the flour to come up (at times they facilitate this, moving the mass with the fingers) and empty out the water from the top, along with these fibers. After a few moments the flour "grows," because of being impregnated with water. The chibé has then been prepared. This starchy water, acid in flavor, is naturally refreshing. The chibé is used as a snack by the Indian. With a cuia of chibé, he rows for endless hours. It is the regular food, or even the sole food, on journeys, and also his dessert after meals.

243 * [192] b) Maize.

The maize, ohó-ka (we do not know whether the Indian sees any special relation between the maize stalk, ohó-ka, and the banana tree, ohó; or if the similarity of the terms is a matter of mere accident), is not only of late introduction, but, moreover, of very restricted use. Properly speaking, there is no maize clearing among the tribes of the Uaupés, but only a few isolated plants, when there are any. [184] [197] A group from the Karapanã tribe, residing between the rivers Papurí and Tiquié, on the headwaters of the stream Umarí, cultivates maize in greater abundance, but it is almost entirely sold to the Salesian Mission. It is a matter of a variety with a soft and white grain.

• 273 In small quantity the chewed maize is used, in some cases, to facilitate the fermentation of the drinks.

252 It also enters into the preparation of cakes, through the following process: after the maize is pounded, the meal is sifted and moistened with lukewarm water. With this dough they prepare cakes that are /216/ put on to bake over coals, wrapped in banana leaves. If the woman "has a good hand," they say, a sweet and pleasing cake comes out. It is, however, a food of

/222 cont./

147 Perhaps the Indian owes to the richness of Vitamin A, taken
262 in through the consumption of such a variety of insects and larvae, the admirable night vision that he enjoys.

/223/ g) Fruits.

*192 If the native diet is lacking in green vegetables and legumes,
245 many are the fruits that they eat.

252 1) Among the fruit trees cultivated, there come first five or
262 six varieties of banana, ohó; and they eat them raw, baked, or boiled and reduced to mingau. Even when they are still green, they eat them roasted in the ashes.

They are also fond of pineapple, sẽ'rá (Uaupés sẽ'ná), biriba, pixká, cashew nuts, sõ'rá (U. sõ'ná), and, more recently, the orange, darãñõ, avocado, ãõmõ, abio /Lucuma caimito/, kã'rẽ.

*192 2) The wild fruits that they know and eat are very numer-
222 ous. We shall recall some: õ'sé, cucura or mapatí (pourouma
252 cecropiaefóliae, Mart.), one of the Moraceae very similar to the
262 imbauba, producing large bunches of fruits the size of a jabuticaba /Mouriria pusa/, which, when ripe, are dark, sweet, and
[273] mucilaginous, and, fermented, give a wine-like drink; mẽ'rẽ (U. mẽ'nẽ), wirí-mẽ'rẽ, various species of ingá (ingá cinamómea, marginata, édulis, etc., Mimosaceae); burukũña, maracujá /species of Passiflora/; õxtã-ñĩmĩ, cumã (fruit of the service tree); pãgá, another species of cucura; kenõ, jatobá /locust tree/; simiõ, uacú /Monopterix uaucú/; teheõ and ehyú-pu, varieties of piquia; thoá, yúa-pixuna; wamã, umarí; wĩhĩ, paricá /Leguminosae/; extoá, cubio /Solanum sessiliflorum/; wextí, umirí; wikasoró, small white fruit; tohoá-kaxperí, omã-karperí, and fierẽ, similar to the cumã.

3) And many species of palm nuts, more or less oily: ixkí, inajá; puxpyá, ucuquí; mĩx'pĩ, assai; ã'rẽ, pupunha, for which they are eager; bextá, tucumã, which they like very much, ñãmã (U. ñumũ), bacaba and pataúa; etc.

/223 cont./

192 222 262 252 Assaí, patauá, and bacaba are small nuts, in bunches. Put in hot water, the pulp that envelops them comes loose. This, after being crushed and strained, is mixed into the chibé or into the mingau, making it more nourishing and flavorful.

252 4) They also leave the umarí (paroquéiba /Poraqueiba/ paraénsis, Ducke) in water, after having sucked the sweetish yellow rind, in order for the stone to lose its bitter juice. They also customarily mix its yellow mass into the mingau.

245 252 262 5) The pupunha tree is an ornamental palm, straight, with beautiful fronds, which they plant in all their povoados. Twice a year it produces bunches of small red or orange nuts with a farinaceous and dry pulp. They eat them cooked in water. /224/ They like them so much that during this time they abstain from other foods. Its pulp, diluted in water and left to ferment in camotins for 24 hours, is transformed into a very tasty drink, the pupunha caxirí, ɨ'rɛ̃-kó.

245 251 273 [192] When there is a great abundance of this nut, they prepare a large quantity of the mass, and, in order to keep it during the year without spoiling, they dig a hole in the vicinity of the house, line it well with banana leaves, and there they introduce the mass, pressing it well in order to expel all the air, and afterwards they cover it further with banana leaves and a layer of soil a span or more thick. This mass will be used for preparing the caxirí for months.

222 252 262 [192] 6) Among the most sought wild fruits is the japurá, a dicotyledon, like an almond, inside of a soft involucre. They subject it to boiling, in order to eliminate the thin and bitter skin that covers it, and then crush it, producing a dark mass, with a sharpness that reminds one of Gorgonzola cheese (54).

54. Pe. José Monteiro de Noronha already reported that in 1759 in his "Roteiro de Viagem /Voyage Logbook/," p. 114: "The Indians will have put the name of Japurá on it (on a

/224 cont./

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/footnote 54 cont./ river) because very common among the savages along it is a soft mass, black and with a very unpleasant smell, made from certain fruits called Yapurá (the name of the river is pronounced this way among the Indians) after they are spoiled, which is eaten with their bread or beijú, and with everything that they think suitable."

[263]
[251]

They eat it with beijú or as seasoning for fish. When they make it in large quantities, they keep it in holes in the ground, like the mass of pupunha.

[784]

It is to be noted that the woman must not go to the toilet or even drink water, while she is preparing the japurá. Otherwise the mass would all spoil, they say.

g) /sic/ The cunurí, waxpõ, is also eaten roasted or boiled. After it is cooked, however, it must be left immersed in running water in order to lose the bitter flavor.

h) Drinks.

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The various drinks that the Indian makes are called, with a term taken from the Língua Geral, caxirí, in Tukano pêru. The term caxirí, or pêru baxsasé, also designates their feasts, which are always held with drinking bouts. Without the latter the former cannot be conceived.

The caxirí is similar to a beer or a fruit wine with regard to the taste (55);

55. "From the palm trees the Indians make a delicious wine," says Pe. Alonso de Rojas in his account of the voyage of 1637 (in "Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas," p. 118).

/224 cont./

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it is so thick, though, that it looks more like a mingau or /225/ thin, extended pap. They are fermented drinks, and in many cases, moreover, alcoholic fermentation takes place. The flavor is pleasant, especially when cane juice is added to it. It then becomes sweeter, but with greater alcoholic content and more inebriating.

They are prepared from manicuera, yõxhá, from beijú, ahũ-ga, from cará, hõmõ, and from various kinds of fruits. The beijú for the caxirí must be well toasted, said precisely pêru-ahũã; afterwards being crumbled and mixed with the water, which is left to ferment for two days.

The principal types of drinks are:

1st. -- Ya'rákê. One waits until the beijú becomes half moldy, and then one adds the mandioca, grated without peeling, and plenty of warm cane juice. In order to activate the fermentation, the large vessel, called baxpá, that contains this mixture will stay on the hot ashes. At the end of a week, more or less, it will be ready for consumption.

2nd. -- Tu-sa'békê. It is also prepared with beijú broken into the manicuera, and later one adds cane juice. The fermentation is faster, in a cool place, covering the tub that contains it with banana leaf. At the end of three days it can be drunk. When it turns out stronger and more stupefying, they believe that it happens because Wãx-tĩ took a bath in the tub of drink when still covered with banana leaves (56).

56. Patrícia Vasconcelos told us that on a certain occasion in S. Luzia (river Papurí) a very weak old man was lying in his hammock near the tub of tu sabékê. From his hammock he could hear the noise of Wãx-tĩ, who tore open the banana leaf and bathed in the liquid and was drinking from it. He then called his grandson and told him: -- "My grandson, throw this drink away; I heard Wãx-tĩ taking a bath in it."

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3rd. -- Doxké dõxpoasé. More greatly esteemed, and lending opportunities for their greatest feasts and dances, is the "caxirí of pupunha," doxké dõxpoasé, for which all work. It falls to the man to collect the fruits in the forest. The women cook it in large pots, adding pupunha leaves to the water in order to facilitate the cooking, so they explained. The single girls are the ones who grate the cooked fruit, or pound it, if it is only crushed. A convenient grater, although not very durable, is what is called waxtá-fiõ-sa-ró, that is, an adventitious and aerial root, equipped with small, but numerous and resistant projections, which the paxiúba palm puts out. The oldest Indian women bring the maize, chew it, and add /226/ it to the mass, which is diluted in water and left to ferment for three days with cane juice.

These three types of drinks are the strongest ones that they originally knew how to prepare. They assert that, if the makers have a "good hand," the caxirís turn out very strong. They think, moreover, that the "blowings" of the Komũ (VII -- 2, e (3)) will lend even more inebriating strength to the drink.

4th. -- Pêru kaxtisé. It is the common caxirí, because it is prepared from day to day, with only fresh manicuera, without cane. It is consumed in a space of 24 hours, from midday to midday. If this caxirí were made in a small amount (a Taryãna native said, and we were able to verify it also among the Bará of the Tiquié), so that by midnight it was all gone, then perhaps they would remain seated, talking and playing the flutes /Port. flautas-de-pã, Panpipes/, but they would not dance. It is to be noted that outside the dances they play their music sitting down and stated that they always do so, without, however, indicating the reason for this custom.

5th. -- Duxtú-kó. It is the caxirí that is prepared with the potato duxtú (similar to the Japanese potato). The potato, already cooked, is pounded and mixed with mandioca and left to ferment with a sufficient amount of water.

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6th. -- Ñomõ-kó. It is prepared by cooking the cará /Dioscorea/, ñõmõ, which is afterwards moistened with saliva and crushed in the mortar. Finally, it is mixed with the beijú or the manicuera and left to ferment.

7th. -- Sibeóke. It is true aguardiente. It is obtained by distilling cane juice (ã'rã-kó, Uaupés a'nã-kó) on the fire. Its use is more infrequent, the planting of the cane, ã'rã, being generally limited. It seems that at times the caxirís are also distilled.

Still (sibeóri-pá)

We know that sibeóke is also prepared on the Uaupés, although in a more limited way. In Ambaíba (river Içana) we saw one of these /227/ stills, sibeóri-pá (Nheengatú mutiquerepáua). It consisted of a large camotim, with a capacity of about one hundred liters, terminating in a narrower mouth, which was closed with a wooden plug to which was fitted a taquara /bamboo/ which carried the aguardiente to another smaller camotim. The orifices were plugged with clay. It has not been reported that there were stills or distillation of cachaça in this region northwest of the Amazon, and, noticing that the natives do not worry about the problem of cooling the distillation, some are led to believe that it is a matter of an indigenous invention. It might, however, be an imperfect imitation of the stills that existed on the lower Rio Negro as early as the eighteenth century.

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372 Formerly fire was obtained by turning rapidly between the palms of the hands a small stick whose end was provided with a match of kapok, and rubbing it in the small orifice of another
*[192] small stick that was very dry. The apparatus is called pexká-mẽ wihyasé in Tukano.

262 The diet of these natives, although at first sight it does not seem so, is quite varied, rich in vitamins of vegetable and animal origin. As for the salts necessary to the organism, they get them from roots and fruits; as a matter of fact, they have a strong bone structure, and nevertheless the waters show a deficiency of
• [273] calcareous salts. As for sugar, they only have that of the fruits
[249] and of the fermentation of their drinks. The cultivation of sugar cane is insignificant and intended practically for the preparation of the caxirís, although once in a while some Indian will be seen sucking it.

The amount of food that the Indian consumes daily is large, when he has plenty of it; although on other days, due to a lack of food, he is forced into a very strict fast. Perhaps the caxirí itself, which he drinks in large portions on the occasion of feasts, plays the role of a periodic washing of the stomach, intestines, and kidneys. It is certain that thin persons are rarely found among them, if one excludes the older women, who generally are so, and the sick. They are, on the contrary, plump in figure or even fat, without obesity or deforming adiposities, strong and healthy.

It is to be noted that the Indian emits a characteristic smell, which makes us think that it is due to a diet predominantly of fish and pepper.

/234/ 5) Hunting and fishing.

a) Fishing.

226 Fish is an important element in the diet of the Indians, as we have already seen. In the regimen of the family home, each
[462] family head provides the fish; it is his habitual, although not exclusive, occupation. In the regimen of the collective dwelling

/250 cont./

464 and of that of the Amazon (80),

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80. See "Relatórios" /Reports/ on these Provinces. Unfortunately, instead of job [466] contracts, there were deals between the latifundiários or traders of the Rio Negro and the tuxauas or those who, in a private or official manner, established relations with the Indians or lived among them in order to take advantage of the forest [164] dwellers. The latter would come down, deluded by promises that did not correspond to reality and were victims of malaria or other illnesses. The means to return to their povoados were not made [273] easy for them to get. Their weakness for alcohol was taken advantage of, and months of their services would be bought with some bottles of aguardiente. The documented exposure of these "descidas" /descents/ of the Indians will constitute quite dark chapters in the future History of the Indians of Brazil.

and on a smaller scale even today, more or less numerous Indians of different tribes irregularly come down to the lower Rio Negro for the most varied jobs, particularly the extraction of various products (rubber, piaçaba /piassava/, nuts, timber, etc.).

439 Objects of native industry for purchase are not only their artifacts for museum collections or decorations for private homes. Those who live or travel in these regions obtain from the Indians part of their food (81)

[797] 81. The Salesian Missions have brought great stimulus to the Indians for the production of the means of subsistence, because,

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533 Some of these songs are inspired by nature: song of the "cutia /agouti/ that eats umarí /a plant/," the "defoliation of the açaí /assai/," song of the butterfly, of the bee, etc.

797 The songs or the dances often start with whistles and also
533 regularly end with a fortissimo of whistles and cries.

Pe. Antônio Giacone states (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 52) that there is a song reserved for the tuxáua, and with the very
[276] melody of the dance. While the large ritual cigar is being passed from mouth to mouth among the men seated on their stools, the
*[192] tuxáua sings as follows:
[539] "mãrĩ bũxkõrá, mãrĩ paxkõ-s'õmõã baxsesê duhí-wé:pãra, yõõ ná põrá uhú duhí, uhú duhí we:yá, mãxsã yõõ põra"; that is, "our old people, our ancestors, seated, they held ceremonies (Blowings), just as they did them anciently, you do it too, smoking, my children, smoking seated."

b) Secular songs.

533 The secular songs constitute an artistic patrimony exclusively
[562] for the women. The men do not know how to sing them, just as persons of the female sex do not know the religious songs of the
• [273] men. They deserve to be called bacchic songs, because, as a rule,
[535] the women or girls sing them when they distribute the drink, in the interval between the dances. All these songs present quite a clear meaning; they are invitations to drink or request for drinks; not infrequently also referring to episodes of the singer's life. They are recitatives, and therefore, respecting the melody, the performer will sing her verses, sometimes longer, sometimes shorter, sometimes with greater felicity, sometimes with less. There is, then, ground for personal inspiration, although obeying a traditional pattern and using common sentences and ideas. Some are more rousing, others, less; developing a /301/ simple musical theme, of few bars, but melodic and pleasant. Just as melodic and pleasant, although also of few bars, are the musical canons that they play on the "flauta-de-pã" /Panpipe/ and on the "japurutú" /see yapurutú, or long flute, below/.

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[178] /341 cont./
last three or four days are already rare, and commonly they are limited to two days.

If it were called wai poosé, offering of fish, every male guest would bring smoked fish. If it is of pupunha, ɨ'ɾɛ̃ poosé,
*[192] they must likewise bring this fruit, etc. The most common poosé are those of fish, of beijú (ahũ̃-ga poosé), of pupunha, of inga (mɛ̃ɾɛ̃ poosé), of manivara /termite queen/ (mexkɨ̃ poosé).

• [273] In the maloca where the dabacurí will be held, more or less three days before, or even earlier (the time necessary for the fermentation), the women busy themselves preparing a large quantity of drink: caxiri of beijú, or cará, of pupunha or of any other fruit /342/ in tubs or vessels that are covered with banana leaves in order to facilitate the fermentation. The activity is great; there is an extraordinary gaiety, loud laughter, a true clamour.

[574] In the morning of the appointed day (the hour will vary according to the distances from which they come), the offerers start arriving, bringing the offerings. They arrive at the landing place (or at a short distance from the maloca, if they come by land) with only some painting or also with some feathers in their ears. Two men go up to the maloca in order to give a warning of their arrival and to fetch the drink. The chief of the maloca sends the drink to the landing place; while they wait for the strangers, they complete the painting.

When they are ready, which always happens around 9 or 10 o'clock (47),

47. Stradelli, in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, describing these feasts, says in the entry Tauucurí that the strangers arrive late in the afternoon. It did actually happen this way at two poosé that we attended among the Taryana of Iauareté, one of fish and the other
[115] of cunurí. The Tukano Antonio Barreto, however, in describing the dabacurí to us, asserted that on the Tiquié it regularly takes place in

/343 cont./

796 574 Such formalistic greetings last an hour and a half. Afterwards the ritual banquet starts, without any further pragmatica, each eating whatever pleases him: first the men, more or less grouped in the front part of the maloca; afterwards the women and children, in groups at the back of the maloca.

[785] Once this meal is finished, the ritual fast begins, that is, abstention from any food. It is only permissible to take some of [273] the drink prepared for the feast. They do this, helping themselves copiously, even excessively, to the drink, which, besides, is very nourishing, being as it is, in reality, a thin pap (49).

[123] 49. On a certain occasion, after eleven hours of laborious passage through the forest, we arrived at a maloca of the Barã, located near the headwaters of the stream called marĩya (tributary of the Tiquié), when a feast was being given there. One of our traveling companions, of the Barã tribe, who should have been very tired and undernourished, like all of us, since he was carrying the heaviest load, did not accept the food that was prepared for those of our retinue. He preferred to participate in the feast with his "brothers," and contented himself with only beijú caxirĩ.

2) Preparation for the dances.

*[192] The tuxáua, at a certain moment, tells the chief of the visitors that the banquet is finished and "he may open the box of the decorations" (mahã poári axká-ro).

*[192] /344/ The women of the maloca come to fit the bands [302] (uxtá-serí) to the guests' legs, below the knee, and to execute the body painting. The woman who painted him will be the guest's dance partner. It falls to the man, Pe. Humberto Limpens and the Tukano Antônio Barreto note, to paint the woman, and

/345 cont./

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*[192]

Some of these dances are performed partially inside and partially outside the maloca, for example, the one that is called "wa'wári baxsá," which could be translated as "the dance of the caps," since wá-wá is a cap plaited with arumã splints. The dancers moreover go to the yard of the maloca around 4 o'clock in the afternoon, again around midnight, before dawn, and, finally, around 9 o'clock in the morning. According to the legends, the ancestors of the tribes danced at those times outside the maloca. And the feast is not only a recollection, but is also meant to be a reviviscence of the principal episodes of the epopee of their origins.

[533]
*[192]

In one of these dance numbers the wife of the local tuxáua goes into the middle of the dancers' circle and utters a long and shrill cry, while the men continue to dance around her. This soloist is called yõhõgó (52).

> 52. Yõhõgó is the feminine present participle of yohõ, which seems to be an onomatope of the sound that she sings. An informant also called her nõ'mõ bayá, that is, woman bayá (see VII-6, a (2)).

She must not take a breath during this dance, but cry out with only one breath. If she breathes in the middle of the song, it means that she will not live long. In this dance, says a Pira-tapuya informant (Emiliana Castro), they imitate the hopping of the cotias /agouti/.

[115]

[273]

The dances are about to start. The caxirí is served in large cuias. Each individual will drink as much as he wants. If there is any left, the next companion will empty the cuia, with the right, however, to help himself first from the cuia that will then be filled immediately. Those who distribute the drink represent the butterfly: they have a feather over each ear, representing the wings and a small tendril of cipo in a spiral on the forehead by way of a proboscis. They advance in a rush,

/345 cont./

796 535 [273] [562] with short steps, in a zigzag, imitating simultaneously with the mouth the humming of an insect. Bearing a cuia in each hand, they give them to anyone who wants to take them, first the men and afterwards the women. As the cuias are emptied, they return to fill them anew and to distribute them in the same place and in the same way.

/346/ 3) Performance of the dances.

* [192] [622] The tuxaua takes his initial dance position near the second column to the left of the central nave (baxsá whyarí boxtá; see illustration above /see p. 511/; at his side, in order of importance (53),

> 53. Importance which corresponds, more or less, to age. We were not able to verify whether they are arranged in an order strictly corresponding to the importance of the Gens itself (according to the classification -- IV-2, a (2) /see IV-2, a (3)/), because generally all the dancers are of the same Gens.

are arranged the other men. Each one, with a lance or a rhythm instrument in the right hand, places the left one on the right shoulder of his neighbor, and they are more or less in a semicircle. Then, a song starts to the sound of the instruments, which they strike on the ground simultaneously with the right foot (perhaps also with the mappers on the ankle), in a slow rhythm. They take a step toward the center of the circle and draw back, then another one toward the side, and they start to move in a circle, now to the right, now to the left, slowly. Sometimes they gather in a circle, which now becomes tighter, now bigger, now they go around in a circle. At a certain moment the women, one after another, start coming in, in a required, or at least constant, position during all the dance numbers. They place themselves between one man and another, with the head somewhat bent forward, resting the nape of the neck under the arm of one of

796 /348/
535 The tuxáua starts the second part of the program, placing himself, as at the first time, beside the second column; the others follow him, and the dance begins again.

[514] During the intervals that follow the dances, they go out for their needs, the men by the front door of the maloca, the women by the back one.

*[192] There are intermezzi musicali performed by the young men who play "flautas-de-pã" /Panpipes/ or japurutús (VII - 3, [534] c (3c)). We have observed that in general it is the younger men, especially the single ones, that play the flautas-de-pã, and the [533] ones who play the japurutús are a little older. The instruments are combined into pairs, rendering beautiful musical themes of question and answer.

4) Distribution of the kaxpí.

796 About 3 o'clock the kaxpí is served (cf. VI - 4, i (4) /see
• 273 i (3)/). One of the old Kõmũ prepared it during the dabacuri.
*[192] At this time, in order to give it more strength, he "blows" over
[533] the kaxpí. Afterwards he goes away from the pot, sings a song, also sounding the yaí-gõ (see VII - 3, c (a) /see VII - 3, c (3a)/). An old Indian, who represents the butterfly, because of his ornaments, stations himself between the two central columns of the maloca, sitting on a small seat, in order to make the distribution (57).

> 57. At the feast of the Wanana of Caruru-cachoeira (river Uaupés) on April 24 and 25 of 1955, the first kaxpí was served by the local tuxáua himself, and before the dances, around 1 o'clock in the afternoon.

He fills two small cuias and presents them, with outstretched arms, starting with the old man who "blew" the kaxpí and afterwards to the rest, in the order of decreasing age. Anyone who wants to can spit it out later, according to what they said and

/348 cont./

796 we have seen. It is, however, a sign of weakness, from which
• 273 the Indian ordinarily abstains. It is a show of strength and masculinity to drink it and not fall down drunk. Besides it is "the plant which makes one dream," and the forest dweller wants it, in spite of its bitter taste.

Two by two, according to their importance, the men approach in order to drink the kaxpĩ, and soon after also caxirĩ, in order to take away the unpleasant flavor of the first drink, so it seems. They come equipped with the cipo shield (VII - 2, e (1) /see VI - 2, e (1b)/) and the stick-of-the-onça /see yaĩ-gõ above/, if these are in the maloca. The kaxpĩ will yet again be served twice more, the same ritual being observed. It is no longer obligatory, however, to drink it, and many, in fact, abstain from it. The individuals begin to feel besotted. Some, perhaps, fall on the ground, others vomit. This one seems to see in front of his feet a stick, a snake, /349/ or a lizard; he wants to jump over it and falls down. The inebriating effect varies with the individuals; and it is a satisfaction for those of the maloca to verify that the kaxpĩ was strong and the guests are dizzy. Some, in this condition of inebriation, give cries, throw down objects, break vessels, bows, arrows, whatever they find at hand. The Kõmĩ who "blew" the drink "will blow" now over the drunken and excited individuals, in order to neutralize the effect of the
[115] drunkenness. This is information from the Tukano Antônio Barreto. The last one to drink it will be the local tuxáua, who, with the lance at the ready, takes three turns, saying some unintelligible words. Meanwhile, an Indian beats on the entrance door with a stick, likewise shouting out some words.

In observing such a ritual, the kaxpĩ is served three times, the vessel that contains the drink being put outside the maloca in the sun after each time. The last time is already in the middle of the night.

[184] According to the Wanana custom, at the first time two cuias are served to each individual, at the second time just one cuia, and at the third one two cuias again. When there are several types of kaxpĩ, one begins with the weakest one.

574 /352/

796 1st. -- Some of the guests come buzzing, like the carapanã
524 (crepuscular mosquitos /Culex fatigans/), and, with a little stick in the hand, they start stinging the others, who try to shoo them away.

2nd. -- Afterwards others come, pretending to be ku'sĩro (an animal perhaps legendary, similar to the dog, some say, and which makes a clamor in the forest), making noise, dragging pot or stick, doing this up to the center of the house. Those of the maloca beat on the ground with a stick in order to chase them away.

We have watched a similar challenge for two hours, finally leaving the competitors, who went on with the same enthusiasm.
[178] Nowadays many of the younger generation, instead of listening to
[535] those monotonous narrations, prefer to dance enthusiastically with their female companions to the sound of the flauta-de-pã /Panpipe/.

[273] 3rd. -- The caxirí is served; some no longer want it. The companions force them to take it, always in jest.

796 4th. -- The chief of the guests comes in with a torch of turí
574 (VI 5, a (4a)), lighted, because it is already dark. His companions come in, throwing down objects, taking fruits, beijú, eating them. All feigning an attack on the maloca. A simulation so well done by the way that the civilized present become frightened, believing that it is a matter of an enemy attack and that a fight is about to start. In reality many feasts degenerate into fights and are intentionally taken advantage of for reciprocal vengeance.

524 5th. -- Some of the guests now come hopping, squatting,
796 imitating the toad, and making the characteristic sound with the
574 mouth: "uãõ... uãõ..." They enter the maloca, and those who are there ask the toads: -- "Where are you going?" "I am going to visit my relatives." -- "Your relatives have all died." And the toad, at this news, faints.

/391 cont./

527 Some of these dances are strictly familial amusements, in
535 which only those of the family (maloca or house) participate, and there are no invitations to strangers. For others, strangers to the family are also invited, without, however, the importance or the number of participants of the "Poosé."

• [273] Corresponding to the importance of such entertainments will also be the preparation, the ornaments, the paintings, and the quantity of the drinks, Pêru (caxirí, see VI - 4, h). The latter will never be missing; the ornaments might be missing, or they might use the simpler ones. Once the feast starts, it goes on uninterruptedly until the drink is finished. Those who are overcome by sleep doze a little, but, barely awake, they continue to dance. It is a [562] question of pride and conceit, for the persons of the two sexes, to show the greater endurance.

*[192] 2) "Bayá." -- At the dances, both in the Dabacurís and outside of them, appears a personage of distinction, called Bayá. Almost /392/ always he will have an official assistant, with the name of baya-re we-tamõgõ (helper of the Bayá).

The position of Bayá is a lifetime one, in which the son almost always succeeds him, because he learns with his own father, for whom, perhaps, he was already the official assistant. The function of Bayá might be put together with that of tuxáua or wyogõ. This is the case for Júlio from Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié); for Vicente, Desana from the Umari-igarapé, for Henrique, Tuyuka from the stream of the onça /jaguar/ (trib. of the Tiquié), for Mandú, Makú from the vicinity of Iauareté, etc. There are no examples, however, of its having been exercised by the pajé.

It falls to the Bayá to direct the songs and dances at the feasts, both religious and profane. He must, then, know them very well and be zealous about the exactness of the dances, teaching them to the younger generation and correcting the mistakes. And we have seen him exercise with authority and grace his function as master of ceremonies in solemn dabacurís.

*[192] When he is not the tuxáua, he ordinarily will be one of the ko-mũ (see VII - 2, e (3)), and to him falls the first place immediately beside the tuxáua. Like the latter, he will have the most

/400 cont./

533 yú-yú with the left hand, and with the right one they beat the
535 rhythm tube.
[192]

The yu-yú of the dances

Tobacco form

[192] The dancers are divided into two groups, who execute the movement by advancing and retreating (baxsá poterí), one in front of the other. Afterwards they place themselves in line, each one with his lady, describing circles. They again divide themselves into two groups, who advance and retreat. Now they turn their backs to one another, always with advances and retreats. It seems that the new song consists of several verses, each one ending with cries and whistles. At given moments some say words in a loud voice, just as the caller of square dances does. Would they be ceremonial words or a simple command for the evolutions to be performed? The women, finally, leave the dance, and the men continue in Indian file, with the left hand on the right shoulder of the preceding one. This file goes to describing circles, stopping from time to time, always, however, singing and beating the rhythm with the strokes of the rhythm tube.

[562] 6th Part: Performed only by the men, as in the first part.
[273] After this part, one of the dancers advances in order to distribute
[276] the caxirí with a cuia in each hand, mumbling some words and stamping the right foot harder, in a winding progression, like that of the snake. He gives one cuia to the tuxaua and the other to the most important person. The second time he brings some to two more, and thus to everyone. Also the long cigar of leaves goes from mouth to mouth.

/430 cont./

553 There further appears in this rite a woman with the function of
[608] Pax-koá, which they translate for us as Madrinha /Godmother/.
[302] The child is left to its own devices, amusing itself inside the
[824] maloca, but at intervals its pax-koá pours over it abundantly a
black dye, prepared with the plant ve'é, letting it run down over
the head and body of the baby. The Komũã and all those present
• [273] help themselves in a profusion of the drink (caxirí) prepared for
this event and which is also given to the child.

[115] Later we learned what Stradelli had written about the giving
[178] of the name, and we read it to Dorotéia Brito, who confirmed
that everything takes place still today just as it was written by
that author at the end of the last century. For this reason we
transcribe what one reads in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-Português
in the entry Mucera (p. 537):

"That of giving the name is one of the charming native cere-
monies, which I have witnessed more than once. The giving of
the name is done /431/ when the child who is to receive it has
already started to talk and already walks by itself -- between
two and three years of age. On the appointed day the neighbors
all gather from early morning, soon after the morning bath, in
the house of the parents. The pagé, the father of the child, and
the oldest one of the relatives, who have taken a bath earlier,
have been shut up since before sunrise in a special compartment
[276] prepared ad hoc, at the end opposite the entrance. Each one has
in his hand a cuia of carajurú /carajura/ of the light, and in the
ground, amidst the three of them, is thrust the ceremonial cigar.
Those who arrive sit down on seats arranged in such a way as to
leave in the center, between the front door and the back door,
a free and unobstructed passage. The women go to the kitchen.
[782] The three who are shut up in the small room, after each of them
has filled his cheeks with smoke, soon after sunrise blow over the
cuias of carajuru in all directions, invoking by their names the
mothers of the things that live in the sky, in the waters, and on
the land to come and pay attention to the name which the child
is about to receive, in order to protect him and accompany him

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

tears the skin, and where a clumsy move shakes down hordes of stinging ants, or the canoe has to be pushed through narrowly spaced trees. Sometimes the canoe is portaged across a hillock. The forest passage is made with light, quiet strokes in keeping with the silence Indians observe in the forest.

Canoes range in size from a one-man capacity to up to one ton. Each man makes a personal fishing canoe. Some prefer a four-man capacity, but the small one-man canoe is most popular. Every community has at least one large cargo canoe with a capacity ranging from a half to a whole ton. Usually made by the headman, it is for the use of all, for long trips, for transporting cargo such as farinha or palm leaves for roofing, and is the festive canoe that transports women and children to drinking parties. The headman is the owner but the canoe is taken freely by sibmen. Paddles are individually owned and are kept in the house, never in the canoe, but are freely borrowed.

Women do not own canoes, a canoe belonging always to its maker, but women have use of the large canoe. They do little unaccompanied traveling. I have rarely seen a woman alone in a canoe; she is accompanied at least by a child. A woman in a canoe alone is suspected of running away or of a rendezvous with a lover. Women walk great distances, but a man is ashamed to walk if he can go by water. A man who does not own a canoe is regarded as lazy and inept, and some boys who have never learned to make a canoe are scorned by the girls and find it difficult to marry.

Canoes don't last long. Unless properly seasoned, the wood is cracked by the sun, and such canoes split quickly. Short splits are calked with pitch stuffed with a rag, or smeared with clay. I have been in canoes that require constant bailing; but as a rule an old canoe is left at the canoe landing house for the children to play in. Finally it is sunk in shallow water at the canoe landing, where it serves as a receptacle for manioc set to soften. Good canoes are brought into the house and are used as chicha containers during a drinking party. On the Cuduiarí, Koch-Grünberg saw canoes ornamented on the inside with painted designs, as well as paddles with painted motifs on the blades (1909, II, 89). By 1939 such embellishments had disappeared.

The Cubeo are careless in mooring canoes, and they float away but are always recovered. No canoes have ever been reported as stolen. A week may pass before an owner of a lost canoe goes to look for it. He waits until he needs it, for there is never any doubt that he will

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

CUBEO

592 554 [433] providing drinking parties. While prestige is not a negligible factor in motivating production it is secondary to subsistence needs.

Compared to manioc, all other subsistence horticulture is of trifling 241 262 significance. The list of Cubeo cultivations besides manioc is a lengthy one, but except for the pupunha palm there is nothing on it that adds bulk to the diet. Crops cultivated by the Cubeo include bitter manioc (*kerika*), yam (*nydmu*), sweet potato (*yapika*), maize (*kardiye*), and tabena (*miwa*), as well as the following unidentified tubers: *kwaiwdryo*, *waiwari*, *mod*, *pudjú*, *kandka*, and *kabéka*. In addition there are sugar cane (*kawdmene*), pineapple, (*ihíbo*), banana (*djwéye*), plantain (*óne*), pupunha (*uné*), gourd (*horibe*), calabash [273] [415] (*hahámu*), coca (*patú*), tobacco (*butei*), and capsicum (*bya*). The pupunha palm is important only as an ingredient in chicha. Gourds serve as vessels, and yams, sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, and maize barely supplement the diet. Sugar cane has become a most important ingredient to chicha, and every community grows several varieties of [273] melons. Most of the starchy tubers the Cubeo grow are used to lend variety to chicha, not to the solid diet.

241 The Cubeo, as I have already observed, have a very strong feeling for domestication. This covers plant as well as animal life. They are eager to plant anything that comes recommended and to follow the [272] advice of experts. Some have planted coffee shrubs, although no one drinks coffee and they have no other use for the bean. One man built an immense box on stilts which he filled with earth so that he could plant onions safe from pests. Neither he nor anyone else in his com- [462] munity cared for onions. Sugar cane, as already noted, is mainly a male cultivation, but all other food products except for manioc may be grown equally by either men or women. No plant is neglected and the busiest woman seems to have time to look after her plantings, which may be scattered all over the secondary clearing or inner plaza. [431] [621] The produce of these scattered plantings, a melon or two, a handful [857] of sweet potatoes, are often given as gifts from one household to another. Children, too, have their plantings.

Finally, every household has chickens, descended from stock 235 brought in by white settlers. Chickens belong to women, mainly, I believe, because that is what the Colombians and Brazilians thought [242] was proper. Although the Indians take good care of the chickens they [439] do not ordinarily eat them, regarding them either as pets or trading them to the occasional white man who comes by. In some communities, chickens roost in nearby trees – others provide roosting places in the maloca. A few communities rear ducks in the same manner,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

he is really "cutting up" he will choose an old woman and so draw upon truly licensed ribaldry. When the women are left with their portion they carry on in the same convivial spirit. Household meals by contrast are solemn. When a meal is finished they rinse the mouth with water, using the fingers to scrub the teeth, and finally they wash their hands in a "finger bowl" of water. In some upstream houses, though, I noticed hands being wiped on the house posts.

Guests who have come for a drinking party or other ceremony will ordinarily eat very little for the duration. At the mourning ceremony, which lasts three full days, the hosts prepare a few corn cakes and tie these to the house posts for a hungry guest. But they prepare no more than about one corn cake for every three guests or so. Moreover, by tying the cakes to the house posts rather than serving them in a dish they are clearly indicating that this is not a meal. If people wish to eat during these three days they must bring their own provisions. Needless to say, a person hungry enough to ask for food will be fed; and at the protracted mourning rites there is a certain amount of scrounging upon the food resources of the hosts, but of an informal and almost underhanded nature. Women feel freer about passing food to one another and the men surreptitiously nibble at it. The Cubeo expect an adult male to tolerate hunger under any circumstances, and not to feel hunger at all during a ceremony. They expect women to live up to this standard but partially, and they are completely tolerant of the young, who may or may not eat on these occasions as they see fit.

Eating is considered a social activity occurring in a number of specified social settings, all of which involve Cubeo notions of intimacy. The sib is the normal outer limit of intimacy with respect to eating. However, guests may be temporarily assimilated into the sib if they take part in all of its activities, such as the woman cultivating a borrowed manioc garden and the man hunting and fishing. When they have been so assimilated they may eat as sib members do. The eating problem involves the overnight guest. There is no taboo against inviting even an overnight guest to join in a sib meal. It is rather that host and guest alike regard this as a most delicate matter. It is embarrassing to eat with people who are not intimates. Most often I have seen guests huddled in a corner eating a cold supper of old manioc cake and some dried fish they have brought with them. They are surrounded by a wall of privacy since the hosts will not look at them and they will not look at the hosts while they are eating. Before I understood the Cubeo sentiments about eating I inadvertently caused a visiting woman acute embarrassment. She and her husband,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

244 home from the garden represents her carrying capacity. These are
433 the technical problems. They are not inherently formidable, except
244 in terms of the traditional sexual division of labor of the Cubeo. The
433 men who make the original clearing can call upon group labor and
462 they have the spare time. If increase in manioc cultivation were only
461 a matter of preparing a clearing it would be relatively easy for any community to double its present zone of planting. The Cubeo, however, must calculate the size of a clearing in accordance with how much land the women of a household, working independently, can cultivate. On her part, the woman does not cultivate more than she can handle in the course of her accustomed routine. In manioc cultivation each household is autonomous; and while a woman can call upon the help of another woman when she is not well there is simply
[622] no collective or cooperative organization to help harvest, bring in, and process the crop. The headman who has the authority to direct the masculine work party that prepares the clearing has no jurisdiction over the work of the women. And neither does anyone else.

433 Nor does the nature of demand place much pressure upon manioc
434 production. Under ideal conditions at least two-thirds of the man-
244 ioc crop is for food. The rest is divided between chicha and farinha.
[261] Since the Cubeo are moderate eaters and do not have the custom of
[273] feasting outsiders, the demand for manioc as food is inelastic. There
[614] is only a little more elasticity in the demand for chicha. Although the
[182] drinking party is a principal means for binding the sibs it cannot be said that increasing the quantity of chicha consumed at a party or adding to the traditional number of parties would promote additional sib cohesiveness. In this instance a law of diminishing returns may be said to operate.[3] In any case, since each sib assumes some of the re-
[614] sponsibility for entertaining the others, the burden of supplying the
[554] chicha is phratry-wide. The poorer sibs entertain less often than do the richer ones.

43 It is in the production of farinha that some elasticity in demand may be expected. Farinha, as the Cubeo equivalent of a "cash crop," pays largely for vanity articles, ornaments that have no traditional sanction, but also for cloth petticoats, that have now become customary apparel. However, this aspect of production for the market is also socialized. The goods a woman acquires from the sale of her farinha are largely committed to the intricate network of gift exchanges that apply between husband and wife, brother and sister, and between ceremonial friends of opposite sex. In a general way

[3] See the chapter on the drinking party.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

593 A brother and a sister who are close to one another in age and who show a fondness for one another are regarded as being linked in a bond that is both warmer and more specialized than the normal bonds between a brother and a sister. The girl is spoken of as "belonging" to her brother. The boy prepares a manioc garden for his sister and she in turn barters a good part of her farinha production in his behalf, getting him fishhooks, ammunition, jewelry, and items of clothing. He will always bring something for her. If he wishes to act as host in a drinking party his assigned special sister has a particular obligation to assist in the preparation of chicha. They do not exchange the ordinary male-female foodstuffs since that is strictly a connubial form of reciprocity and the unmarried are part of their parents' household. They do simulate a conjugal relationship, though, in that they reportedly allow themselves the intimacy of external coitus (i.e., without intromission). On the other hand, since the girl has been allotted to her brother to be part of an exchange marriage, he assumes the right to offer his sister's sexual favors to persons of his choosing, although, as in the case of an exchange marriage, he cannot force her to accept a man against her will.

593 As the Cubeo explain it, the purpose of the brother-sister relationship is to provide for the boy's marriage. Since the most desirable marriages are those in which brothers exchange sisters, a boy, they say, must have a sister assigned to him if he is to have a strong bargaining position. The Cubeo do recognize the validity of a material bride price, but very few families will readily yield a daughter merely for objects. They want a daughter-in-law to replace a daughter. Exchange marriages are complicated because it does not often happen that the exchange can be immediate. The delay in completing an exchange transaction calls for a reliable guarantee that the agreement will be adhered to. For this, several recourses are available. The ultimate recourse is force. The aggrieved party will raid a household that has reneged and hope to abduct a bride, or, more commonly, love magic will be used to lure the girl away. The most assured contract is one involving cross-cousins, since it draws upon the absolute probity of relationship between a brother and a sister, who are always principals in such a marriage negotiation. But even this has a loophole in that the girl must be willing. By and large, it is the attitude of the bride-to-be that the Cubeo regard as unpredictable. If she enters upon a marriage with reservations that are not removed soon after she has been taken to her husband's community she can be counted upon to run home and stir up complications. The special brother-sister relationship is intended to guard against this. On one

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

No Cubeo headman has rights over person, over life, or over property.

Within the sib, the headman is the firm but gentle father, ever watchful of the welfare of his sibmates. There is, however, another side to the office. As representative of the sib within the phratry he is the organizer of drinking parties in which the prestige of the sib and his own prestige are involved. An ambitious headman urges his people to produce more chicha, to entertain often. His pressure may become burdensome on the people and his influence within the sib is, accordingly, jeopardized. The *habókü* with more commanding presence can push people farther, it is said, than the ordinary *kendmi upákü*. While drinking parties are enjoyed and sibs are conscious of their own heightened prestige as givers of chicha, they suspect that their headman is pushing himself forward too strongly and they resent it. To forestall such resentment a headman urges household heads to join as cosponsors of a drinking party.

The headman is charged with preserving the unity of the sib. While concern with personal prestige is not lacking, this consideration of his must be secondary to the welfare of the sib. He must prevent splitting of the sib. If a household leaves, the headman is blamed. He is blamed if sibmen's quarrels reach a dangerous point. When drinking parties erupt in violence the women taunt the headman with his inability to restore order. Yet in asserting leadership the headman dare not be too forceful. Father Giacone has observed about the Tucano Indians that they are docile. The same can be said of the Cubeo. A man will not, in fact he claims he cannot, resist a direct command. He will obey and be resentful. No householder who had unwillingly submitted to a headman's command would long remain in the sib. Moreover, the Cubeo do not easily tolerate social tension. If the atmosphere in the house becomes unpleasant someone will certainly move out. Men will not work, hunt, fish, or join in any collective undertaking if the atmosphere is not cordial. Maintaining this atmosphere is perhaps the most difficult charge upon the headman.

The headman who must deal with white tradesmen and with labor recruiters has the additional burden of representing his community against men of very forceful personality. He finds that he dare not submit to the common weakness of docility and must match their forcefulness with his own. A headman who has learned to deal with the white man on equal terms will tend to be more authoritative within his sib as well.

There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Cubeo

769 796 taboo but as a courtesy. When the ancestors paused, the youngsters went back to the canoe landing to bring up the berries. When the boys left, the ancestors sounding the trumpets circled the maloca [614] counterclockwise, going from the front door to the rear door. When they returned to the front plaza again, men of the subsib who had arrived as guests came out of the house, and taking over the horns, they circled the outside of the house, sounding the instruments to all corners of the clearing. They re-entered the house and a new group, men from a related sib, came out and took the horns from them. As each group completed its circuit of the house it re-entered and was given pupunha chicha.

All the men had had their turn with the ancestor horns when the boys trudged up the path in single file, each holding out before him [222] [857] a tray piled high with berries. Young boys normally provide fruits and berries for the community, as part of playful foraging in the forest. Women sometimes bring in fruit, but in the main such gathering is left to the boys. I assume therefore that the boys at the initiation are ritualizing a traditional role. They bring fruit to the maloca, not to the ancestors, who are *givers* of benefit and not receivers. By the same token, the offering of the youngsters is at this point ritually recognized. The boys set the trays down on the dance floor of the house. Then the men of the house returned to the canoe landing to bring up the heavy bundles of *konhá*. The seven initiates in the meantime were asked to occupy the long guest bench near the door. [273] When the men had deposited the last bundle of *konhá* they gave to each boy a calabash of pupunha chicha as though he were being received as a guest, and they passed among the boys the ceremonial cigar, as another acknowledgment of honored adult status.

[273] [276] When the youngsters had consumed their portions of chicha and had puffed self-consciously at the cigars, they helped the men unpack the *konhá*, arranging all the berries into eight trays and setting them along the rear of the house, the women's quarter. While the trays were being set out, a solitary dancer sounded *Buñi* throughout the house.

[413] When the berries were in place the *Buñi* dancer put aside the horn and began to prepare a switch (*hardmu*) that he had picked at the water's edge.[4] The switch is from a bush that grows quickly, and is wound with sturdy kumari twine. The boys withdrew to the guest bench where they huddled nervously, watching the switch being pre-

[614] [4] Some sibs have a more or less permanent switch that is beautifully plaited and tipped with seed beads. Whipping is called *haraíhume* (*haraí*: to strike; *humé*: bitter, unpleasant).

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

of social health of the sibs. They follow, in fact, a cycle of active entertaining leading eventually to drunken brawls and quarrels with allegations of sorcery and so to an era of bad feeling when only very close sibs entertain one another at parties where the drinkers are subdued and dismal. The cycle of euphoria-depression in the drinking parties reflects rather accurately the shifting state of social relations among sibmates and phratry mates.

The *unkúndye* is to be distinguished from other ceremonial occasions that are accompanied by drinking, such as initiation rites, mourning, and naming a child. It is more of a secular affair. It may commemorate an event, such as completion of a house or the end of a pubescent girl's brief isolation period. In the main, it has its own justification and its own compulsion. The justification is to bring the sibs together so that they may drink, dance, sing, gossip, and narrate publicly their origin traditions. Since attendance is generally limited to sibs of the phratry, the *unkúndye*, with all its erotic provocativeness, is hardly for courtship. It does stimulate and encourage adultery, however. The compulsion is to demonstrate economic capability. A sib should be able to provide all its phratry mates with more chicha than they can possibly consume. It should have a house large enough to encompass the entire phratry, and its young people should be vigorous enough to dance virtually without rest from late afternoon on one day until after dawn on the next. The rule of the *unkúndye* is that it must go on until the last drop of chicha has been consumed. The pride of the hosts is that with all the guests' efforts to drink heartily they could just not make it. Thus, while the *unkúndye* is a social binder, there is enough conflict in it to provoke serious resentment, quarrels, and temporary disruption of phratric unity.

The hosts of an *unkúndye* have two very evident anxieties as they go about their preparations. One is that they will have enough chicha. This they can control, for they have planned their cultivations to allow for at least 15 per cent of total manioc production to go into chicha. And they work hard at preparing the brew; an entire community will work happily all through the night, reducing the manioc to a mash and masticating it all mouthful by mouthful to give fermentation a speedy start. What they cannot control is attendance. The *unkúndye* is also a test of a sib's standing within the phratry. If it is well esteemed it will attract many guests. When I stayed with the *Bahúkiwa* they held a drinking party almost weekly, counting upon me as the novel attraction that would assure good attendance. As already mentioned they were then in an "up" phase, having moved to the main stream from the *caño*, and they basked for a time in an orgy

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

In preparing chicha, the manioc is allowed to soften for four days. It is left in the maloca covered with leaves until it has turned a dark green color and has lost much of its moisture. Then it is grated, pounded through a sieve, and put through the tipiti press. The dry lumps are toasted lightly on the manioc oven and stirred into a fine grain. Small manioc cakes are prepared from these grains. The cakes are thoroughly masticated and the saliva-drenched balls are mixed with water. After fermentation has begun, a quantity of sugar cane extract is added, and this mixture is left to ferment for several days. Masticated pupunha mash may be substituted for the manioc. A mixture of pupunha mash with sugar cane extract makes a potent and very laxative drink. Many communities add maize as well as a variety of root plants to a basic manioc mash.

This period of preparation is one in which the house is spruced up and personal possesions and ornaments are inspected, compared, and readied for wear and display. Nowadays women regard their long cloth skirts as gala wear. If it is to be an important drinking party a woman hopes to have a new skirt that she has never worn before. All the elaborate male ornamentation of feather headdresses, necklaces, girdles, and pendants are fetched out and tried on. Musical instruments – Panpipes, long flageolets, whistles – are tuned and repaired. Songs are practiced and dance steps tried out. A nightly respite from the labors of manioc preparation is the amusement of watching the children play at dancing the adult dances, singing the dance songs, tasting the freshly prepared batches of chicha, taking coca, smoking, and listening to the old men chant snatches of the origin traditions. The mood is such that the minor rancors of community life are smoothed out. The headman takes advantage of this mood to bring the Satellites back as permanent residents of the community. The Satellites are normally invited to be cosponsors of a sib affair, bringing a contribution not of manioc but of sugar cane, or pupunha when that fruit is in season. The headman believes that when the estranged sibmates see how happy all are they will want to come back. There is no doubt that a Satellite is strongly drawn to the festive spirit of the main maloca. But he always has the time during the hangover of the morning after to consider whether it is worth returning.

The headman makes the first proposal for a drinking party and discusses the date and its scale with the male household heads. Cosponsorship means that a household head undertakes to prepare a notable amount of chicha that can be shown to the guests. When the invitations go out, the names of the cosponsors are given, and when

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

574 one. Each guest passes down the full line of the hosts, repeating with
576 each one the standard greetings. Cosponsors of the *unkúndye* are always in the receiving line, with their wives in the parallel line, whereas household heads who have not cosponsored have the option of greeting the guests formally or informally. It would seem that if there were a large attendance the reception would take up a good
574 part of the evening. In practice there is a tendency to curtail the
576 formalities once the drinking has begun, unless the circumstances are particularly sacred. The first guests are received when the sun has
273 set two-thirds of the way to the horizon, or at four o'clock in the afternoon. As soon as the first man has passed through the receiving line he is escorted to a bench by a young man of the house and handed a calabash of chicha. By nightfall the guests who have been drinking for a while have become more restless and more boisterous, and the greetings on the receiving line have become more curt and less formal. Younger guests slip by without being greeted and younger hosts slip out of line to take part in the drinking. In this way it often happens that the late arrivals are greeted with little more than a casual handshake by a slightly tipsy and gay host.

574 This seemingly spontaneous deterioration of a pattern of greeting
576 follows, in fact, a characteristic Cubeo ceremonial procedure, which
182 is that every sacred event begins in a slow, solemn, and stately manner and proceeds stage by stage through a steady mounting of tempo
796 until an orgasmic peak is reached, which is then followed by subsidence. I use a sexual figure of speech here because in the prolonged
[765] and elaborate mourning ritual which represents Cubeo ritual activ-
[831] ity at its most complete, the entire proceedings unquestionably follow the sexual rhythm from courtship to coitus.

574 The women who have come as guests sit in a bunch at the left side of the maloca near the front door. The men sit on two long benches in a V formation opposite the women and also near the door. At the rear of the house sits the first group of dancers, men of the house. After a while the guests begin to move deeper into the house, where each woman visitor stakes out a space along a side wall for her effects and her children. Men form separate clusters. The older men, whose behavior is consistently more restrained, are the
[276] last to leave the forward benches. When the women have gone back into the house these elders occupy all the benches and, facing each other in two rows, smoke cigars in a ceremonial manner, waving the smoking cheroot before their faces and nodding pleasantly to one another. The cigars are held in a carved forked holder with a pointed stem that can be stuck into the ground before each smoker,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

An ordinary drinking party lasts from late afternoon until dawn of the following day. During this time only children will be fed or will sleep. With hammocks and cooking utensils out of the way the maloca yields up its everyday character and is exclusively a dance hall, in a sense a ceremonial center.

At the height of the festivities sibs are all intermixed. But this mixing happens slowly. Earlier in the evening sibmates have bunched together. One has the impression that one of the "functions" of the drinking party is to break down, temporarily at least, the excessive autonomy of the individual sibs. At big drinking parties the men of the visiting sib arrive armed with loaded shotguns, as in the past they came armed with lances. The armament symbolizes the autonomy and the latent hostility of the separate sibs. When the men are armed, the transition from separateness to mixing is more dramatic because then the sight of bunches of armed men crouched with their rifles between their knees conveys, as it is intended to, an atmosphere of menace. At the end they have put their arms away for the fellowship of drink and dancing. Women, however, are fearful that after the men have begun their usual drunken brawling they will use their weapons. I never saw this happen although several women assured me that drunken shootings were common enough.

The chicha is kept at the rear of the house in great pottery jars, in great drumlike wooden tubs as big as canoes, and in canoes that have been scrubbed clean for this purpose. The quantity that is always prepared is intended to be prodigious. It will call for very active drinking on the part of all, men, women, and in a playful way by children, for the last of it to be consumed by dawn. The saying is: "No one leaves until the chicha is all gone," and the male guests gayly promise to drink "until we vomit." The hosts ply the guests mercilessly with chicha, hunting them down in the dark corners of the house, waiting for them to leave a dance formation, good-naturedly pushing them if they are asleep or more likely pretending to be asleep. After a time, the groan of a guest who sees the pursuing calabash thrust at him again is genuine enough. Women will serve chicha but it is properly a man's chore. Only the men are aggressive servers.

Among neighboring Tucanoan-speaking as well as Arawakan tribes chicha is served ceremoniously, the bearers of the calabashes dancing toward the guests in single file, crouching, knees raised high to chest. They weave in a snake dance and utter monosyllables such as *ma ma ma* or *tu ha ha ha*, and conclude with a piercing *he he he*. The Cubeo do this when they serve the sacred drug *mihi* but I never saw them serve chicha in this manner.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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saw them serve chicha in this manner. The Cubeo offer the calabash with a jest: "Drink quickly so that you may be drunk soon." The aim of the drinking party is to achieve an intense state of excitement and to maintain that until overcome by sheer fatigue and sleep. Tobacco, coca, and *mihí* supplement drinking to intensify and hasten the reaction. When *mihí* is taken, producing color visions and finally a blackout, the Indians say, "Now we shall get drunk quickly." *Mihí* is associated with *miwa* (birds), which are the patrons of ecstatic intoxication.[1] Drunkenness is not to be avoided. If a little boy gets drunk his father is proud of his precociousness. Women, however, are not expected to get drunk and they rarely do.

574 273 276 [825]

574 276 [249] [171]

Mihí is not taken at every drinking party but only at those that are considered very important. At the mourning festival (*óyne*) a great quantity is consumed. The narcotic plants (*Banisteriopsis caapi* and others) from which *mihí* is prepared are cultivated by the men only and they alone drink it. The Cubeo regard it as a sacred drug, and from all indications it is so regarded throughout the Western Amazon region where it is used. Along the Orinoco the Indians chew the skin, but all along the Vaupés an infusion is prepared by boiling the leaves, bark, and roots to form a greenish-brown "soup" that is strongly bitter. The Cubeo prepare several varieties that are graded according to potency. Upon truly solemn occasions they begin with a mild infusion from the leaf of a variety that is taken exactly at midday, and conclude with a very strong variety just before sunset. This sequence of *mihí* transports a man from vague and mild visions of whiteness to intense hallucinatory experiences, bursts of violence, and finally loss of consciousness. *Mihí* almost invariably causes vomiting, and for that reason alone each man must take many servings. For each type of *mihí* there are four servings taken from a small gourd dipper. The first service is of two dippers, the second of one, and the third and fourth of two each. At the beginning, the Indians say, the vision becomes blurred, things begin to look white, and one begins to lose the faculty of speech. The white vision turns to red. One Indian described it as a room spinning with red feathers. This passes and one begins to see people in the bright coloring of the jaguar. When the final strong forms of *mihí* are taken the hallucinations begin to assume a disturbing and fearful form. One becomes aware of violent people milling about, shouting, weeping, threatening to kill. One is seized with the fear that he no longer has a home. The house posts and trees come alive and take the form of people.

[1] There is also a bird called *mihíkó*.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

There is a strong sensation that an animal is biting one's buttocks, a feeling of the feet being tied. The earth spins and the ground rises to the head. There are moments of euphoria as well, when one hears music, the sound of people singing, and the sound of flowing water. The Cubeo do not take *mihí* for the pleasure of its hallucinations but for the intensity of the total experience, for the wide range of sensation. I spoke to no one who pretended to enjoy it.

A sacred drug, *mihí* is handled in a ritualistic manner and is served from a distinctive pottery jug that is never washed. When the hosts – always a pair, one man holding the jug and the other the serving dish – offer *mihí* the following stylized exchange takes place. The guests exclaim, "*ho ho ho ho ho o o o*, here it comes." The host asks, "How are you?" and the guest replies, "I am well. I have come well." The host stirs the *mihí*, saying to it, "Stir! Look, it is bitter. It tastes bitter. Our Ancients also drank it." The guest replies, "Let me take it. Let me see if I can drink it in the same way as our Ancients did. I am going to drink." He drinks it down and is offered a mandatory second drink. The host says, "Look. Here it is, drink again." The guest now replies, "I am going to drink so as to see [a vision]." A guest whose father is dead will say upon receiving the *mihí*, "My father, when he was alive, drank like this, so he told me. He sought me out that I might drink. My father never got drunk when he drank it."

When each guest has had his two portions of *mihí* the hosts drink off two portions and then serve one portion to each guest again. The guests murmur *ba ha a.a a*, meaning "well done." When the last portion is given, the host announces, "We have finished drinking," and each guest replies, "I am pleased." At this the host announces he is sitting down to have a vision, and he retires. Suddenly he leaps up at the guests in the characteristic *mihí* dance and with the sucking sound. He intends to frighten them and shouts *wetcówe* (vomit!), and the guests reply, "Bring it on. We wish to vomit."

Drinking, smoking, chewing coca powder, and taking the infusion of *mihí* are all acts with strong symbolism of sharing a group experience. Out of bravado a man may down an entire calabash of chicha. More often he will pass it to a neighbor, who will also take a few swallows and pass the calabash along. The drinker will also have taken chicha from the quantity prepared by each cosponsor. The cigarette is passed from mouth to mouth. The host provides tobacco, which he passes among his guests from a bark-cloth pouch, and a bark wrapper, which is tied to the house posts. Guests may smoke their own tobacco but will always use the wrapper that is

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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men's section making a sucking sound with his lips. Having circled 276
once, he proceeds to prepare the *mihí*. He prepares a quart, which is considered a great deal.

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The younger men now fetch the *abúhuwa* masks, that have already 532
been prepared except for final decorations and embellishments. A completed mask has the full sacred character and for that reason the last touches are put off until the very end. The same principle applies [276]
to *mihí*, coca, and chicha; they must be fresh or their potency will be [273]
lost. In the case of the masks, however, it is a matter of the spirits not being kept waiting. When people come to a ceremony they also [574]
complete their decorations just before entering the house, pausing at the canoe landing to do this. Hosts for their part arrange to complete their preparations almost at the moment the first guest arrives.

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The first guests to arrive are the Satellites – members of the sib – 574
who appear precisely at noon. They go first, informally, to the rear of [614]
the house, where they deliver a bundle of dried fish, a traditional [431]
Satellite food offering, to the headman of the sib. They then return to the canoe landing to prepare for a new and formal approach to the house. They carry heavy staffs or other weapons. The head of each 765
Satellite household approaches the open doorway, strikes the side 574
wall a resounding blow with his staff, and steps a few paces into the 576
house, his sons behind him. Inside, the male hosts are in line in order of age seniority, the headman and chief mourner at the head. Each man holds either a staff or a loaded gun planted firmly at his side. Guests and hosts exchange formal greetings in a rapidly delivered dirge that is punctuated at intervals with a moaning sound *ee ee ee ee* followed by a whistling sound *i i i i*, as when *mihí* is brought in. The men, as is customary in formal greetings, do not look at one another but at some distant point past the other's shoulder. The guest moves down the line, spending about five minutes with each host, and the next is received in the same way. When the first arrival has passed down the line, he is given a calabash of chicha by a host, who leaves his place in line to do this. Women are greeted at the rear door by female hosts.

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While the hosts safeguard themselves against sorcery by chewing 574
the Jaguars' bark cloth, the guests wear a little pouch at the throat for the same purpose. The effort to protect against sorcery is realistic, 789
since the Cubeo regard every drinking party, an *óyne* in particular, as 754
a prime occasion for a sorcerer to practice his art. These safeguards also carry out the theme of anger and implied hostility that characterizes the early stages of the *óyne*.

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After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to 574

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

765 574 152

able to carry through what are abrupt and violent gestures of mourning without disturbing the infant's feeding. In the midst of what seems to be an uncontrolled paroxysm of grief the mother adjusts her infant to a more comfortable position. The infants seem undisturbed. The women are wandering mourners, seeking out new partners with whom they exchange shouts until, with their voices hoarse and cracked, they crouch down together and weep.

FORMAL RITUALISTIC ELEMENTS

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The dramatization of emotion is, I believe, the central theme of the *óyne*, as it is, indeed, the central theme of all Cubeo ceremonials. In the *óyne*, the dramatization of emotion is conducted most directly in the sexual interplay between men and women and in the variety of enactments, as in a pageant, of scenes of emotional significance. Dramatization is never the most direct evocation of emotion; it occurs only in the *óyne*, which of all Cubeo ceremonials demands the fullest emotional orchestration. In other ceremonies emotionality is either generalized, in the sense that one acquires a special lift from drink, narcotics, and dance, or else the emotional range is more limited, as in the ancestral cult initiation. The *óyne* provides for many modes of emotional stimulation. A secondary mode is physiological stimulation, which relies upon chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihí*. On physiological stimulation I have only to add the note that in the *óyne* indulgence is greater and the state of frenzied excitement is sought quickly.

[276] [273]

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Chicha consumption at the *óyne* is prodigious. Months of labor go to the preparation of manioc mash, which is then allowed to ferment fully in combination with sugar cane extract. Men eat little or nothing during the three days of the *óyne*. They are nourished on chicha and blunt their hunger and fatigue with coca. The *Heheénewa* also bought *aguardiente* for guests who could not get drunk on chicha quickly enough.

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The traditional Cubeo attitude toward drink and intoxication is religious, not secular. They do not drink for mere pleasure or to overcome anxiety. Secular drinking is for them distasteful, and it is rare to see an Indian drunk except at a ceremony. In the white settlement of Mitú it is the white man who is drunk and the sober Indian who watches him with amazement. Intoxication is a sacred state. In the *unkúndye*, drinking leads from passivity to quarreling. In the *óyne* the emotions unleashed by intoxication are channeled more directly.

[574] [154]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

765 273 152

Drinking at the *áyne* is disciplined and follows the emotional gradient of the ceremony. On the first day, which is intramural, the mood is somber and little chicha is taken. On the second day, when guests arrive and the mood is anger-grief, the drinking is still slow.

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Guests receive the welcome offering of chicha after their third entrance into the maloca and thereafter they drink during all intervals between dances. Formal drinking begins two hours before sundown. The moment is signaled when the hosts brings in *mihí*, the symbol of intoxication. Only the older men take the potion. Thereafter all drinkers are free to grow excited. The elders remain restrained, however, since it is their role to license the excitement of others. They describe their own intoxication as an inner state. They feel a change in mood, they see color visions, but they do not overstep to overt excitement. That is the role assigned to the younger men.

765 273 276 152

The rate of drinking and the shift in mood gains momentum in the course of the interplay with the women. Women drink as much as men, but do not take *mihí* and do not get drunk. Their excitement is imparted to them by the men. Thus, the men drink to initiate excitement; the women drink so that they may react. When the men are not among them the women sit passively among their young, the dogs, and their household goods.

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765 276 [778]

Mihí has magical power which the bearers portray dramatically. They pretend to stagger under its weight because *mihí* has power to fell a man. The people I asked did not know, however, why the bearer of *mihí* pranced with his torso bent forward and his knees kicked up high. The bearers whisper *he he he* and then whistle. These are the sounds of spirits and they are the same as the sounds made by the guests when they circle the ceremonial remains of the deceased. A bundle of *mihí* vines is laid with the ceremonial remains during this dance. From a roof beam at the exact center of the house, where it overlooks equally the male half and the female half, hangs a vulture figure. The body is an ear of corn, the head is carved of wood, and the spreading wings and tail feathers are made of old basket fragments. The bird hangs like a mobile. It is said to be "drunk" on *mihí*, and it presides over the *áyne* to give the proper spirit of intoxication. The vulture of intoxication is the patron, so to speak, of the *áyne*.[9] Mobiles of other birds are also hung about the house, as are painted images of fish. I did not learn the significance of these.

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[9] The vulture is thought of here not so much in the sense of its being a carrion eater, but for its quality of soaring. Compare *kawí* (vulture) with *kawíno* (kv).

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

776 mythical fish with a mouth that has the lower jaw of the puño and
825 an upper jaw shaped like the beak of a parrot. Should a menstruant enter a canoe he will break it to bits. The Cubeo do not say that their fish ceremenials are for the purpose of promoting success in fishing. Their view rather is that when they are happy with a catch of fish they enjoy dancing with them. Increase magic may underlie the Cubeo relationship with fish. But if it does they either no longer recognize the instrumental motive or else they refuse to acknowledge it.

825 As with the *Bekûpwänwa*, the Cubeo relationship with the animal
771 world is largely one of establishing proper social relationships. In such relationships compulsion is out of place. In the animist world view of the Cubeo the entire animal world is communicant with the world of man. Some relationships, as has been noted, are dangerous, and therefore stand out in a special category. Among the dangerous relationships is that of the jaguar. Since the jaguar is identified with the shaman, it is more suitably discussed under the heading of shamanism. There are birds, such as a parrot called *bauvéko* and marúku monkeys, who are feared because they are foretellers of misfortune. For the rest, and with the exceptions noted previously, the relationship between man and the animal world is casual and friendly. On the river, as we have already observed, the Indians address birds and fish by name. Their intense interest in domesticating animals of almost every variety as household pets must also be considered as part of the effort at communication of a concrete form.

825 The birds, *miwa*, are friendly spirits. They emerged, it is said,
776 from Uaracapurí with the Ancients and were originally in human form. The birds are the planters of fruits and berries and are their
[273] guardian spirits. They are appropriately at the same time the guard-
[532] ian spirits of intoxication, a bird with a corn-cob body and wings of
[765] a manioc tray fragment presiding in that capacity over the *öyne*.

The luminary *aiyá*, who is both sun and moon, is a more distant
776 anthropomorphic spirit.[1] The Cubeo interest is in the moon, the li-
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[1] The doctrine of *aiyá* as both sun and moon is mythological only. It does not mean that the Cubeo do not distinguish clearly between these two bodies. *Aiyá* refers to the anthropomorphic being whose activities are actually in moon form; it refers also to direction. East is called by the Cubeo *aiyádaino* (*aiyá* [the sun] is coming). West correspondingly is expressed as "*aiyá* is going." To express time, however, the sun is referred to by the particular name of *handwûkakû*, an anthropomorphic form that has, however, no anthropomorphic connotation to my knowledge. *Handwû* refers to time in the abstract, while *handwû korika* (sun in the center) means "midday." All specific times are given by describing the position of the sun in the sky. The word for "day" or "daylight" is *hánan* and is apparently based upon the verb root *ha* (to see). The Cubeo disclaim any anthro-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

used by the Cubeo for that purpose. It is a ceremonial pennant and it accompanies the dead as a walking stick in the afterlife. Dancing staffs are hollowed cylinders that are stamped on the ground to produce a booming sound and are known as the "good sticks." They have a beneficent effect upon a dance, but whether by magic or by association is not clear. The elaborate coronets of feathers (*mápena*) are apparently sacred. They are handled with great care and kept in a special box. While a woman will touch the *mápena* she will not actually handle them. I did not, however, learn the Cubeo theory of their sacredness. Musical instruments may be regarded as quasi-sacred because they invoke birds and insects but are subject to no taboos (except for the ancestral flutes and trumpets). Flageolets embody the butterfly (*tatárako*). They are played by sounding *ta tara ta tara*, the sound, the Cubeo say, of the butterfly. The large eight-reed Panpipe is *kawá* – the vulture whose hovering form the Cubeo visualize as overhanging the mourning ceremony. Woven ligatures (*ñiknáwa*) worn by men below the knee and daubed with a salmon-pink pigment have several magical effects.[8] Worn at drinking parties they both hasten intoxication and promote long life. They flesh out the calf – a symbol of growth and for the Cubeo aesthetically pleasing.

The association between intoxication and long life as expressed in the ligature seems more than casual. For the Cubeo, intensity of feeling is the goal of ceremonial life. Excitement is one form of the sacred for the Cubeo; perhaps it is the most important expression of sacredness they know. This is borne out by the prominence of excitants in Cubeo religion. Tobacco, coca, *mihí*, chicha, capsicum peppers, all have sacred value for the Cubeo. The potency attributed to an excited state cannot be said to be magical nor can it be attributed to spirits. They have a bird as the spirit of intoxication but this bird does not cause intoxication – it presides over it. The religious significance of intensification of feeling is not an instrumental one in any narrow sense of the word. One can only state this as an impression, since the Cubeo did not put it into words. Intensification of feeling stands for them simply as an assertion of life. That is why, it seems to me, the Cubeo can assert that the salmon-colored ligature is for long life and for drunkenness both.

[8] Women also used to wear these garters in the days before the petticoat became common.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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562 side stands for linkage, while the female side in relation to the male side stands for autonomy.

571 The second most important area in which polarity-complementar-
796 ity can be observed is ritual. There is no need to review the obvi-
152 ous distinctions between sacred and profane in ritual matters. What is of special interest is the Cubeo pattern of setting all ritual within an emotional framework that moves from calm to frenzy, from order to chaos, from sobriety to intoxication, from a slow tempo to an excited tempo. A Dionysian frenzy is without doubt the desired culmination of Cubeo ritual, but the culmination is not the entire ritual. The pattern is that of a traversal of the emotional spectrum. Again it seems possible to relate ritual emotion as an example of polarity-complementarity to the previously described principle of linkage
571 autonomy. The basis for this connection is brought out most clearly
765 in the mourning ceremony. In this most solemn of Cubeo rituals the
614 initial phases express symbolically the social patterns of masculine
152 solidarity, of sibness, and of phratric solidarity. In the course of interaction with what has been described as "female spontaneity," and in the course of the excitement generated by dancing, dramatization, drinking chicha, and taking *mihí*, the clear social pattern of collectivity is broken down and the participants, having lost sib identity so to speak, appear finally in the guise of nonsib or autonomous dancers. In other words, the zone of ritual calm is parallel to the aspect of linkage, and the zone of ritual frenzy is parallel to the aspect of autonomy. A curious feature of this relationship, one that suggests an extension of the pattern, is the Cubeo characterization of the intrasib or domestic mood as calm, that is, based on food, and the intersib
[615] mood as frenzied, that is, based on the drinking parties. The signifi-
152 cance of this distinction between intrasib and intersib moods is that, as we have already observed, the appearance of a phratric context
571 stimulates, at the same time, the assertion of autonomy. A parallel
574 pattern appears on those infrequent occasions when an intrasib
614 drinking party is held. Such a drinking party follows a more moder-
● 273 ate emotional scale, with far less intoxication, but it seems to have a similar result in accenting first the autonomy of the individual household and, finally, through some drunken disorder, the autonomy of the individual.

571 In this connection, it is interesting to consider that the women, who
574 are on the side of the sectional as opposed to the collective, may and
273 indeed do drink, but they, in contrast to the men, are under no
562 obligation to become intoxicated. Masculine intoxication is ritual
152 but feminine intoxication is secular and hence of minor significance.

/p. 62-B/

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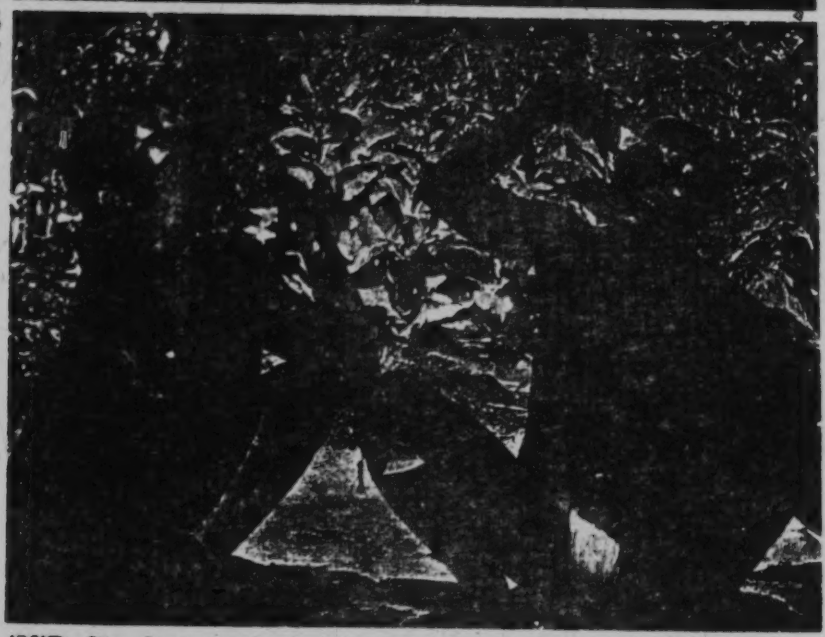

ABOVE: Coca leaves are put into a cooking pot before baking. BELOW: Curing a hangover by inhaling green pepper.

61 Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

796 534 the people that the festival would start that night. The low booms rang out across the forest like blasts on a ship's foghorn. To the south, near the Caquetá, giant wooden drums were slung on a slant from two central poles of the *maloca* and beaten in a secret code as warning signals to other members of the tribe. The *mangwaré* drums were the jungle telegraph of Amazonia and their signals could be heard over twenty miles away.

796 574 More and more families arrived at the riverside port, where they left their canoes moored to the bank or tied to each other with thin strands of liana. Some thirty canoes formed a series of star-like patterns with the water rushing down between them, haphazardly tied, yet buoyant and secure. Each family made its way up the steep sandy path to the *maloca*: the men with their paddles, some with fishing rods, and many with panpipes strung to their hammocks; the women bent low under heavy loads of manioc and their babies on their hips. Here the head of each family was greeted by Bréo and shown where they could sling their hammocks around the sides of the house. The women handed the manioc to Wanina, his young wife – he had two, but the elder could no longer bear him children.

796 273 The amount of time it takes for the festival to be prepared depends on the amount of *chicha* to be consumed. With over a hundred people present, four days were barely enough for the manioc roots to be rubbed down, the poisonous juice extracted and then boiled to form the basis of *chicha*. The starch sediment was baked over the clay ovens into giant wafer-thin biscuits. The boiling liquid was poured into the long *chicha* canoe which lay on the floor between two of the central posts; the toasted cassavas were broken into the liquid and fermentation began. The *chicha* gained rapidly in potency and the canoe was covered with an exquisitely woven cane mat like Japanese lattice. One ceremonial canoe was not enough, and another was brought from the river to be filled with yet more fermenting *chicha*.

796 [787] In the evening the men sat chewing cocaine. Led by the shaman they consulted the spirits and their subdued mumblings continued far into the night. Their crouched bodies, lit only by the flickering of the resinous *turi* torchwood, reminded us of the semi-human rock carvings of their ancestors.

302 796 The *chicha* had fermented, the coca was prepared, the *maloca* was now a seething mass of people. The afternoon before the festival began, Wanina and the shaman's wife began to paint the bodies of the men. First deep red *karayuru* was smeared down the front of the torso, the thighs and along each arm with firm strokes of the fingers. A black liquid, the boiled juice from the leaves of a tree growing in their *chagras*, was painted on to the body with a three-pronged piece of cane. The hands and feet were totally blackened to above the wrists and ankles, and the arms and legs patterned with a lattice of

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A head-dress made from the feathers of the royal crane.

[see p. 78-A]